1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

When a baby is obviously alive but does not cry or cry loudly, that child "will grow up to be strong."

Following a normal delivery, the midwife washes the infant in tepid water at once and places it on a soft robe. In some cases a plant (*Parosela formosa*) is added to this water "to keep the child from crying." She rubs a mixture of grease and red ocher over the baby's body to keep the skin from getting sore. Next she strews pollen or ashes to the directions in clockwise circuit beginning with the east and holds the blanket and the child to the directions in the same order. Prayers and practices which mark her individually owned rite accompany this procedure. Meanwhile, others minister to the mother. Particular care is taken in cases of prolapse of the uterus to see that the organ is pushed back into place properly.

The afterbirth is gathered together in the robe or piece of old clothing upon which the woman has knelt. With it is put the umbilical cord. These must not be burned or buried. If they are buried and then dug up and consumed by animals, the child is harmed. The approved method of disposal is to place the bundle in a fruit-bearing bush or tree "because the tree comes to life every year, and they want life in this child to be renewed like the life in the tree." Before final disposal, the bundle is blessed by the midwife. To the tree she says, "May the child live and grow up to see you bear fruit many times."[1]

At the time of the birth ceremony a name may be suggested for the infant, often by the midwife. However, when nothing unusual marks the birth or distinguishes the newborn baby, the naming may not take place for two or three months. Even when a name is immediately conferred, there is little reason to think that the child will bear it long.

When my daughter was born, the midwife gave her a name, but it did not catch on. Then my wife called her "My Daughter." All the others around our camp now do so too. Later, before she is ten or eleven years old, we will give her another name. This is a Chiricahua custom. The baby name is outgrown. One child, for example, is called "Ugly Baby." But she will not be called

[1] One informant claimed that the cord is retained and later eaten by the child, but no verification of this was obtained from others.

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Chiricahua

this later on. Later the child will be named according to circumstances; something about the child will suggest a name. Once in a while the first name is kept because it fits so well that the person "wears" it all the time. 551 553

Since the name relates to personality traits or to events, it is not necessarily a clue to the sex of its bearer.

When labor is excessively difficult or long delayed, and especially when sorcery is suspected, appeal is made to men or women who carry on still other ceremonies. One elder described such a rite which he had performed over a young woman. She had been in labor for about eighteen hours, and it was feared that "the baby would have to be killed and taken out in pieces to save her." In response to an urgent request from her relatives, the old man hurried to the camp with a helper. He prayed and drew a cross of black mineral substance on his helper's hand. He then directed his assistant to put his arm around the woman's body at various places and to press her gently while he began a ceremonial song of four verses. At the end of the second verse a boy was born—"born before I got through with one song." Great claims are made for these childbirth ceremonies and for these practitioners. "As soon as they touch the woman who is having a hard time, everything is made easy for her." 845 755 759

Nursing begins "as soon as the mother has milk." The colostrum is not differentiated from the milk secreted later. Concerning frequency of feedings, it was said, "I have seen that, when women have babies, as soon as they cry the mothers give them the breast." "The women boil up lots of bones and make a soup right away. They say that makes lots of milk and pure milk." If the mother's milk does not flow at once, the child is not fed the first day. If she is unable to nurse the child on the second day, it is given a little water. Should she still lack milk on the third day, the child is nursed by a mother's sister or other close relative. 853 [602]

From the mother a Spartan attitude is expected. "Women didn't lie around as they do now; they got up soon afterward." "I saw T.'s wife. She has had many children. Today she has a baby; tomorrow she is around doing something. Some lie down for an hour maybe. The next day they are up." But most con- 846 • 149 846

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

846 finements last from a few days to a week. Moreover, the cere-
[845] monies for difficult childbirth and the many medicines in use for
[757] ailments resulting from childbearing suggest that the woman does not always have an easy time.

[844] After the birth of her child, the woman ties a rope or a strap
[826] around her waist "so that her stomach will not sag." She wears this until she feels strong once more.

844 Despite the roving life, there is an attachment to the place of
823 birth. A child is told where he was born; and, when he is again
788 brought to the vicinity, "they roll him on the ground to the four directions. They don't make a special trip for this, but they do it if they happen to be there. This is done even if the child is getting big." Adults as well as children have been known to roll in this manner upon returning to the birthplace.

CRADLE DAYS

852 Normally, the fourth day after birth is the occasion for a cra-
756 dle ceremony, although sometimes the rite is delayed for a few
[759] days more. The immediate family may include an old man or woman prepared to perform it, or the midwife may know the rite and accept the task. Depending on the "way" of the shaman who officiates, the ceremony will be elaborate or modest. A poor
[556] family is satisfied to obtain a shaman whose ceremony is pruned to essentials, while a wealthy family may make more of a display of the event. Not infrequently the selection of the practitioner is related to the web of human relations—to friendships, to bonds of blood, to desire for gain.

[556] There's a shaman, my relative. And there are some people who have a new baby. They are well-off people; they have much property; they have horses and buckskins and bring in lots of deer. My relative has nothing like this, though he is a shaman. He is poor. I notice that this wealthy family with the new baby has lost several babies before this.

I go to them. I say, "You people have a new baby. I notice that you have lost several children. My relative is a good shaman. He knows something to keep the child well. You go to him and ask him and he will put up a ceremony for you. But don't tell him who told you about his ceremony."

Those relatives of the little child talk it over. One says, "I'll give a gun for that ceremony." Another says, "I'll give two blankets." Another offers a horse or a buckskin.